

A Newspaper Devoted to the Welfare of All Workers by Hand or Brain

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# The Canadian Railroader Weekly

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## TARIFF BOARD ENDORSERS

The following is the latest list of organizations endorsing The Railroader's plan for a Tariff Board which would remove the fiscal question from the grip of party class and political opportunism in general:

Inter. Union of Steam and Operating Engineers No. 583, Carson Quarry, Man.

United Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 349, Sifton, Man.

United Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 365, Belmont, Man.

Bro. of Loco. Firemen and Enginemen No. 825, Minnedosa, Man.

Inter. Longshoremen's Ass'n No. 3841, Prince Rupert, B. C.

Inter. Longshoremen's Ass'n No. 3841, Prince Rupert, B. C.

Inter. Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. and Ry. Shop Laborers, Prince Rupert, B. C.

United Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners No. 1777, N. Vancouver.

Allied Printing Trades' Council, Vancouver.

Journeymen, Barbers' Inter. Union No. 120, Vancouver.

Boilermakers, Ship Builders and Helpers, No. 194, Vancouver.

Deep Sea Fishermen's Union of Pacific, Vancouver.

Telephone Operators I. B. E. W. No. 77a, Vancouver.

Pattern Workers' Ass'n of Vancouver, Vancouver.

Inter. Moulders' Union No. 281, Vancouver.

Bro. of Painters No. 138, Vancouver.

Bricklayers and Masons' No. 1, Vancouver.

Journeymen Barbers' Union No. 120, Vancouver.

Hotel and Rest Employees No. 28, Vancouver.

Boilermakers, Ship Builders and Helpers No. 194, Vancouver.

Boot and Shoe Workers No. 505, Vancouver.

Inter. Moulders' Union No. 281, Vancouver.

Van. Typographical Union No. 226, Vancouver.

Meat Cutters and Butchers' Union No. 643, Vancouver.

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Moving Picture Operators' Union No. 348, Vancouver.

Cigar Makers' No. 211, Victoria. Inter. Ass'n of Machinists No. 456, Victoria.

Victoria Printing Pressmen No. 79, Victoria.

Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 694, Victoria.

H. Valley System Federation, Penticton, B. C.

Inter. Longshoremen's Ass'n No. 38a, N. Westminster, B. C.

Local 578 I. B. I. V. of America, N. Westminster, B. C.

Brewery and Soft Drink Workers No. 286, N. Westminster, B. C.

United Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. and Ry. Shop Laborers No. 201, Ashcroft, B. C.

Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 341, Woodstock, N. B.

Order of R. C. No. 214, Moncton, N. B.

Inter. Bro. of Electric Workers, Moncton, N. B.

Inter. Bro. of Blacksmiths and Helpers No. 460, Moncton, N. B.

Bro. of P. D. and P. of America No. 484, Moncton, N. B.

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Nashwaak Lodge No. 186, Durham Bridge Work Co.

Can. Bro. of Ry. Emp. No. 84, St. John, N. B.

Inter. Union of Steam Operators, Engineers No. 683, St. John, N. B.

Scowman's Union No. 272, St. John, N. B.

Printing Pressmen and Ass'ts Union No. 36, St. John, N. B.

Bro. of P. D. of America No. 794, St. John, N. B.

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Order of Railway Carmen Div. No. 219, St. John, N. B.

Ge. Teamsters and Chauffers' Union No. 661, St. John, N. B.  
Inter. Ladies Garment Workers' Union No. 86, St. John, N. B.  
St. John C. N. A. of M. E. No. 2, St. John, N. B.  
Steam and Operating E. No. 675, Fredericton, N. B.

### AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE TARIFF

A revision of Canada's tariff laws in the near future is probable. To what extent changes will be made depends largely upon how conditions relating to the Dominion's revenues shape themselves. Industrial and financial affairs in Canada and, for that matter, throughout the world, are now so upset that it becomes almost impossible to arrive at any reasonable basis on which to formulate new tariff laws. The important thing in Canada is that the country lacks the needed revenues with which to carry on the work of the government. It has been estimated that the Dominion must raise revenue amounting to \$307,000,000, from all sources, next year. This is three times the amount annually required before the war.

Sir Henry Drayton, Minister of Finance, has issued a statement in which he announces that an inquiry will be instituted on the subject of the tariff, and asks anyone interested to submit proposals as to adjustments of the laws, adding that the inquiry will be undertaken "as soon as conditions are sufficiently established to proceed". In the revision of the tariff many things are to be considered which relate directly to the country's industries, the price of raw materials, manufactured goods, and wages. It is well known that just now these factors vary widely among the countries of the world. Moreover, the amount of goods which other nations will be able to ship into Canada cannot now be ascertained. The world's shelves are comparatively bare of merchandise, and the need at home must be supplied before an exportable surplus is created.

Canada is busy and prosperous. The outlook for business is hopeful. The question of revenues is the most serious one at the present time. Probably the best advice that could be offered is that, like other nations, Canada needs to cultivate greater thrift and economy. Greater production

would go a long way toward solving the Dominion's problems. About 80 per cent of Canada's present imports come from the United States. Thus any changes that may be made in Canada's tariff laws will naturally be awaited with almost as much interest by people south of the border as by Canadians themselves.

(From *Christian Science Monitor*.)

### THE VALUE OF CHILD LIFE IN ENGLAND

The Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, for 1918, which has just been published, is a record of welcome progress. Sir George Newman's reports used to tell a gloomy story of apathy and neglected opportunity in dealing with the physical welfare of children. Now, as a result of the war, he thinks there has arisen "a new conception of the value of child life to the nation." The local authorities are at last beginning to take their work seriously, and the new Education Act has further stimulated them, by making it their *duty* to provide adequate arrangements for attending to the health and physical condition of elementary school children. There has recently been an enormous development both of preventive and curative treatment. There are at present some 600 school clinics, as against 350 before the war, and the arrangements with hospitals, the nursing service, special schools for defective children, and open-air schools and classes, have all been extended. Nevertheless there is, as Sir George Newman points out, great room for improvement in three definite ways. First, it is necessary to perfect the methods of treatment, which are often far from adequate. Secondly, a more complete treatment is wanted—or, to use the technical term, the "following up" of cases. And, thirdly, there ought to be a systematic co-ordination of all the agencies of treatment in each area. We are sorry to have to add, as an offset to this optimistic report, that there are still over ten thousand children under the Poor Law. And the numbers are increasing: there are actually now 347 more workhouse children than there were last year. This is a scandal which, despite the important pre-occupations of Parliament, ought to have been removed long ago.

(From the *New Statesman*, London.)

## OUR SCOTTISH LETTER

Glasgow, December 13.

RAILWAY working rates and fares, and the wages of the workers are again prominently before the public. A drastic revision of goods rates for railway transport in the near future is regarded in official circles as inevitable. In this matter the Government is acting on the advice not only of the Minister of Transport but of the managers of the various railways. They hold rigidly to the view that only two alternatives exist in face of the concession of the eight-hour day and the 33s war bonus to the railway workers, taken in conjunction with the certainty that very little, if any, reduction in the permanent wages of the future will be possible, and with the fact that the cost of all materials used on the railroads has doubled or more than doubled. One alternative, it is suggested, is to nationalize the railways and meet any deficit by Treasury grant. The other is to place the railways on a sound economic basis by increased rates. The Government has accepted the second alternative. It will mean that the price of all commodities carried on the railways will be advanced to a larger extent proportionately than the amount of the increase in rates in order to provide for the profit margins on turnover. It is understood that no increase in passenger fares is contemplated at present, but not the slightest hope is held out of any reduction in the existing fares or in the charges for season tickets. The view of the more progressive railway managers is that the public will not be content to pay higher rates for what is at present an unsatisfactory and inefficient railway service. A policy of radical reorganization is, therefore, under consideration, and the continuance of the higher rates as a permanent burden on industry will depend primarily upon the extent to which reorganization is carried and the economics which are thereby achieved. The Ministry of Transport proposes to divide the coun-

try into districts for administrative purposes. It will not be surprising if the object of this turns out to be the virtual unification of the great railway systems and a concentration of management on the principle which has long been advocated by railway reformers. One suggestion which has a considerable weight of authority behind it is that the self-contained management of the existing companies will completely disappear and zone or area management will take its place. The number of districts or areas might be six or eight, and in each there would be one general manager of the whole of the lines in the area with a corps of specialized executive officers working under him in charge of the various departments—traffic, locomotive, carriage and wagon, permanent way, and so on.

### The Wages Question.

Interest in the railway wages negotiations has been renewed by the knowledge that a new offer has been made by the Government. There is reason to believe that this is hardly more likely to satisfy the men than the offer which was recently rejected. A fact which is not without significance is the existence in official circles of an almost fatalistic belief that a new railway crisis will arise in the near future, but no good ground for this belief can be discovered. As the railway unions have definitely accepted the new scheme for dealing with wages and conditions it may be inferred that they would honor the undertaking to defer a strike for a month in case of a deadlock. It might be argued that this provision applies only to claims actually dealt with by the new conciliation body, and that the present negotiations which are taking place with the Government direct, stand in a special category. Quite apart from that, however, the railwaymen are pledged to call in the Triple Alliance if they fail to secure satisfactory concessions, and that step would undoubtedly be the prelude to renewed negotiations between representatives of the alliance and the Government. There would consequently have to be a wide breach between the parties if after these opportunities for considered judgment and revision of terms had been exhausted a strike policy was adopted.

### The National Wages Board.

Sir Eric Geddes explained the position as regards the negotiations with the railway companies and the men. "There are," he said, "three aspects. The first point is the present negotiations on wages. On this no public statement can yet be made. The second point is that an arrangement has been come to between the Government and the two Unions concerned in the conciliation grades on the railways that, apart from the present negotiations, questions of wages and conditions of service shall, during the period of the present control of railways

under the Ministry of Transport Act, be dealt with by a Central Board, consisting of five railway managers, and five representatives of the trade unions, the latter being composed of three from the N. U. R., and two from the A. S. L. E. and F., with power to add to their number on each side to six members. Failing agreement by this Central Board, matters in dispute and belonging to the category mentioned—namely, wages and conditions of service — will be referred to a National Wages Board, consisting of four railway managers, four railway workers (or their representatives), and four users of railways, of which one shall be nominated by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, one by the Federation of British Industries, after consultation with other industrial organizations, one by the Co-operative Union, and one by the Associated Chamber of Commerce, after similar consultation, with an independent chairman appointed by the Government. It has been agreed by the men concerned, that no strike shall take place on account of a dispute arising on those matters until one month after the question in dispute has been referred to the National Wages Board. Local Committees, to which matters of purely local and other than national importance, are to be referred, will be set up, and discussions are taking place at the present time as to their constitution, scope, and functions. The third matter which has formed the subject of conversation with the railwaymen is their representation in connection with the control exercised under the Ministry of Transport Act. The Railway Executive Committee — as such — will cease to exist (probably on January 1), and an Advisory Committee will then be set up. It will consist of twelve general managers and four representatives of the workers."

### Moulders' Strike.

The Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland, at an executive conference in Glasgow, agreed to "throw their whole weight" into supporting a proposal to extend the ironmoulders' strike to include all the foundry trades. Delegates were appointed to attend the forthcoming meeting of the combined executives of the foundry union in Manchester, and they were instructed to vote for an immediate general stoppage. Should the strike be extended as contemplated it would increase the total number of strikers by several

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thousands. The union also instructed its members not to accept the employers' offer of an advance of 5s. a week unless it is paid on the understanding that it is without prejudice to the claim of the English foundry strikers for an advance of 15s. a week. The advance was paid under these conditions at some of the establishments on Saturday last.

### Drapers' Demand.

In the Glasgow wholesale drapery trade the assistants, through the National Union of Shop Assistants, have made a claim for increased wages. A ballot of the members is being taken, and a meeting has been arranged to determine what policy should be adopted in the event of an unsatisfactory reply from the Employers' Association. The claim is that the bonus which they are receiving at present should be added to salary, that a 25 per cent. increase should be granted on the new wage, and that on the total amount then conceded they should receive a 25 per cent. bonus. It is understood that the Union Executive has sanctioned a strike in the event of no settlement. An offer has been made by the employers to the effect that the London award, minus 10 per cent. should be made applicable to the Glasgow trade. This concession provided for increases ranging from 10s. to 54s. a week. About 3,000 workers are affected.

### Scottish Miners.

Several matters of considerable interest to miners came before a meeting of the Executive of the National Union of Scottish Mineworkers, held in Glasgow. It was reported that at Stevenson, Ayrshire, a serious situation had arisen. The men were stated to be afraid that they were approaching a large volume of water. An appeal was made to the mines inspector to have borings taken, but as this had been refused, some 300 men were idle. The management of the Leadhills mines, it was stated, had intimated their willingness to meet the representatives of their men and discuss their grievances under the presidency of a representative of the Ministry of Labor. A dispute had arisen at Cadder, Bishopbriggs, over the threatened dismissal of two weighers for an alleged breach of the Mines Act, and it was decided that the men be brought out forthwith. Permission was granted to the Glenboig clay miners who had balloted in favor of a strike, to cease work to enforce payment of the percentage for the shorter working day.

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## British Railway Workers Welfare

Recent Railway Strike Showed Hardships of Employees Families — Shareholders Seek to Establish a Fair Social Order.

London, England — For many years trade unionists and others interested in industrial questions endeavored to secure public support for the claims of humanity as against dividends and property. "Take care of human beings", they argued, "and property and dividends will take care of themselves. See to it that the masses get the first essentials of a decent existence, proper housing, food, and clothing—a proper wage with which to secure them." Their appeal, they say fell on deaf ears, for as an increase of wages, based always on the level of subsistence, yielded to a strike on the threat of a strike, the cost of the necessities of life advanced proportionately, or nearly so.

While those who obtained the wage increase seemed better off temporarily, their comrades in other industries found the increased prices of commodities more than they could meet with the existing rate of pay. In consequence, there was another demand for increased wages. The demand being ceded, a further advance in prices took place—and so on, in a vicious circle, until at last the more militant labor men, seeing no other way out, threw over adherence to the wage system and modern capitalism for the slogan, "production for use, not for profit, which is only that portion of the value of their labor which is withheld from the workers!"

### Railway Strike Revealed Conditions

But until the happy time comes, which he who advocates Socialism

so honestly and earnestly believes it will bring him, his fellow-workers, and the community generally, strikes will still be considered necessary when affairs reach the breaking point, and there appears to the workers to be a reasonable chance of success. Even if success be not attained, it is claimed that big industrial upheavals usually result in bringing a large measure of increased support to the main desire of the workers, that is, decent conditions of living.

Amongst the new adherents to the claim of the railway workers of Great Britain are many shareholders in the railway companies, who, until the conditions under which the railway men lived and worked were disclosed to them by the recent strike, had given little thought to the moral basis of the dividends they drew from the companies. A few who had done so, headed by Miss Theodoro Wilson and Miss Joan Fry, who, being members of the Society of Friends, deprecate the use of force to inaugurate reforms, have started a movement to enlist the practical sympathy of their fellow-shareholders in companies, toward those whose labor is responsible for their dividends, and whose labor has still to be paid for in wages even if there be no dividends.

Miss Wilson Wilson says "the recent railway strike brought home to many who have not realized it before, the urgent need for all members of the community who are animated by the spirit of good will, to seek some means by which the enormous change in social conditions which must come, may be accomplished without violence. In order to secure this, an increasing number of the men and women of the possessing classes are recognizing the right of the workers to equal status and opportunity, and are prepared for the necessary sacrifice involved.

### No Hostile Camps.

"It is of vital importance that we should break down the common conviction that humanity is necessarily divided into hostile camps, and no effort must be spared to counteract the present spirit of fear and suspicion by an honest confession of injustice where injustice is being done, and an honest attempt to establish a fair social order. The fact is that we all belong to the same camp. We are all members of one human 'family'. A letter published during the strike suggesting that shareholders should state publicly their belief, 'that the claims of the workers to wages making it possible for them to live a full and free life come before the claims of shareholders to dividends' gained such encouraging support, that it has seemed well to continue to give sympathetic shareholders in any company a chance to express themselves."

A letter has, therefore, been sent to as many shareholders as can be reached, asking them if they will sign the following statement and

ask other shareholders if they will sign also:

"We, the undersigned, being shareholders or beneficiaries through shares in companies, wish to state publicly that we are convinced that the claims of the workers to wages making it possible for them to live a full and free life, come before the claims of shareholders to dividends. We will, therefore, support such a reorganization of the present industrial system as shall bring about the highest good of the workers and the best interests of the community, and are prepared to accept whatever personal loss shall arise through such reorganization. We invite all shareholders in companies to realize their immense responsibilities and we ask for their hearty cooperation."

### Many Shareholders Approve.

Numbers of shareholders signing the statement have expressed to Miss Wilson Wilson their appreciation of the action being taken. The following extracts from letters are interesting:

1. "As a shareholder very dependent on my dividends from two of our chief railways, I would like to say that I placed the welfare of the workers on a precise level with my own and I do not wish to prosper in the new world at their expense."

2. "As a holder of a few inherited shares, I welcomed your letter. My hope is that the anomalous position created by government control will be superseded by nationalization. Shareholders can never have enough knowledge of the financial aspect of any undertaking to be able to control directors."

3. "I should like my name added, please. I feel so strongly our duty to help a right standard of wage, and I regret I have shares in an Indian railway that I know nothing about. How are we to set our house in order when money comes from others and is in places we seem unable to get information about. My special thanks."

### Letter from Railwayman's Wife.

Railway workers and other trade unionists have also written letters of thanks, and a railwayman's wife

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expresses the feeling of many other wives whose husbands have had many years of work on the railways without a black mark against them: "I should like to thank you and other ladies and gentlemen who added their names to the list, I regret the strike and its consequences as much as anyone and shall have to suffer for it a great deal, having five children, but all the same I feel proud to suffer it if it is going to make such a difference to railwaymen's wives and families."

"I have been married 12 years and during the whole of that time never owed a week's rent or a bill of any description. You can imagine how I have to scheme on 29s. wages to uphold that reputation (more personal details).... I felt so grateful when I read your letter. I dare say there are hundreds like me, too, as would wish to thank you, as the men have been wretchedly paid always, the wives must all love their husbands dearly to have struggled along as bravely during the war. My husband has 26 years to his credit on one company and has always proved himself most steady and reliable."

The promoters of the movement hope that during the transitional stage from the old world to the new which war conditions and war methods of carrying on the nation's great key industries have precipitated, their action will make for a new fellowship between the shareholders and workers in alrege industrial and other companies.

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## Housing Subsidy Offered in Britain

Government, Besides Encouraging Municipal Building Plans.—Offers a Grant to All and Sundry Building a House.

London, England.—It is the easiest thing in the world to find a scape-goat to place the burden of any disappointment upon somebody's shoulder and leave him to his fate. This is rather what one section of the public is inclined to do with Dr. Addison, the amiable head of the Ministry of Health, who has recently been subjected to great criticism in the House of Commons as to his housing schemes. Perhaps Dr. Addison has been too amiable for the situation and it may be that some of the methods of more vehement ministers would have pushed the rehousing of the nation along more rapidly, but in all fairness it must be said that there are many contributory causes to the delay in national building progress for which Dr. Addison cannot possibly be held responsible.

It is common knowledge that after the Finance Act of 1909 the building of houses by private enterprise dropped to a negligible quantity, because the public confidence in property of all kinds was destroyed and it was felt that the building of houses was altogether too great a risk to be undertaken. Now there is the almost ludicrous picture of the government being compelled to lure the private builder into doing the work for which he is presumed to exist by presenting him with a subsidy of £150 for any house of approved standard which he is good enough to build.

### Subsidy to Private Builders.

This offer of a subsidy to private individuals who will build, and the offer is extended to all and sundry, is the greatest cause for rejoicing to those who wish to see private enterprise encouraged as against municipal undertakings, but it remains to be seen how far the phenomenal price of labor and the cost of materials will prevent advantage being taken of the governmental offer of a subsidy per house.

In many of the great towns the necessary loans have been forthcoming, but the difficulty of raising these loans has, in many neighborhoods, been very great indeed. The government has a scheme on foot for encouraging local municipal investment, by means of which local authorities will finance themselves. The scheme is considered sketchy by those who put but little faith in the government housing programme, but it is difficult to judge of its merits or demerits until it appears in concrete form.

### Root of Social Discontent.

The Prime Minister, in a most eloquent speech, told the House what indeed it already knew, that the lack of proper housing lay at the root of much of the social discontent. He

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was of the opinion that a good many people had done well in the war and their savings might well go into local building loans. He appealed to the workingmen to disregard any attempts to restrict output in order to build more cheaply and more rapidly. Nor did he ignore the grave difficulties as to the shortage of labor in the building world, and he said, what is perfectly true, that the houses would not be forthcoming unless the unions allowed men into the building trades who could acquire the skill necessary for the work within a short space of time.

Mr. Clynes alluded to the fact that an inquiry was asked for with regard to these allegations of limitation of output. It is undoubtedly only when the workingmen realize that the greater their zeal, the more rapidly the houses will rise, that any very great progress will be made. It is, as Sir J. Tudor Walters remarked, essential for the government to mobilize all the housing resources of the country, and in encouraging private persons it is not the desire of the government to supersede the local authorities but to improve the position by calling in other agencies to assist. Undoubtedly the lion of municipal and local enterprise must lie down with the lamb-like private individual and even the private builder, often libelously labeled "Jerry-builder," if the houses are to rise into being from the present stage of schemes and plans.

### Concrete Versus Brick Houses.

Meanwhile the government is bombarded by people who have rapid and

cheap methods of housing construction to offer. Concrete in all its many forms is the favorite of the moment, but its detractors are a pretty formidable number and when once the transport authorities can put the millions of bricks now ready on the road, the staunch upholders of the brick houses are ready to compete with all newcomers.

Meanwhile houses can scarcely be expected to spring up like mushrooms, nor can hundreds of local authorities who have never had the responsibility of building to cope with before be expected to mature their plans with lightning rapidity. There is a good deal in Dr. Addison's plea that nobody gives any credit for the preliminary spade work and it is only four months since the act actually became law. Retrospective criticism is generally useless, but the pity seems to be that the spade work was not undertaken during the war, so that work could have begun at all events during the summer.

### Masters and Men Combine

Adjustments to altered conditions and to the inevitable turn of the social wheel go on, in spite of all mistakes. Nothing is a greater proof of this than the way in which, quite recently, both masters and men in the building trade have combined together against what they conceive to be the unnecessary interference of the government in a matter which could best be adjusted by the whole of the trade in question.

The National Conciliation Board for

### CHILD LABOR

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

No fledgling feeds the father bird!

No chicken feeds the hen!  
No kitten mouses for the cat—  
This glory is for men.

We are the Wisest, Strongest  
Race—

Loud may our praise be  
sung!  
The only animal alive  
That lives upon its young!

the building trades raised wages in the northwestern area by a process of gradual increase, thereby settling a dispute, and raised wages for mechanics early in November. The Ministry of Labor did not give approval at once to the new rates and the result was that the London Master Builders Association informed the Minister of Labor that "any responsibility for labor troubles must rest with the Minister."

Such a crisis indicates the soundness of the Whitley councils, for in such a question as that of wages it is obviously only the masters who know what they can afford to yield to the demands of those they employ. All that is wanted now is a recognition by all concerned of the vital necessities of rapid house construction.

### BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND COAL SITUATION

(From the *New Statesman*, London.)

The Government's handling of the coal situation has added yet another gaiety to life during the past week. For some time the embattled hosts of the Government and the coal-owners have been drawn up ready to do battle for and against the limitation of mining profits. The Government, with its hand upon its heart, has declared its absolute determination to adhere to the terms of the Sankey Report, and to introduce a Bill limiting profits to an average of 1s. 2d. a ton. The coal-owners have proclaimed that this is sheer robbery, and have stimulated a revolt among the forces of the Coalition. Now it is announced that the Bill is to be introduced and profits are to be limited, but that the whole measure is to expire on April 1st, 1920—presumably before noon. We cannot believe that this manifestly farcical proceeding represents the original intention of the Government, and it is in any case a manifest violation of the first Sankey Report, which the Government admits that it accepted. The present transparent dodge must therefore be regarded as a surrender of the Government to the opposition of the coal-owners, masked by a singularly unsuccessful attempt to save its face. A warm reception may be expected for the Bill when its contents become known; at present, although it has received a first reading, it has not been printed, and is therefore not available to the public. Possibly further bargains are in contemplation.

# Oppressed School Teachers

By a French-Canadian Catholic.

It is a well known fact that intangible thing known as "public opinion" can at times become a very real factor in directing the destinies of those whom the higher powers would overawe; that it can even become such a weapon as to force this same officialdom to open the door to those with whom it had sworn never to treat. This public body is the Catholic Board of School Commissioners, of which Judge Lafontaine is the head.

Those who have been following developments in the struggle between the catholic teachers of Montreal and this Board, and whose just wrath welled up instinctively at the arbitrary attitude taken Judge Lafontaine some weeks ago, read with jubilance the storms of protest

Nevertheless there can be little doubt that one local body with bureaucratic tendencies has recently become painfully aware that this

that were printed in the daily and weekly press in Montreal and elsewhere. For several days, a scorching stream of printers ink told the Board exactly what the people of Montreal, and the Catholics in particular, thought of a man whose highest appreciation of his employees was that they were a pack of Anarchists and Bolsheviks.

But one sharp bright morning, not long ago, the people of Montreal opened their papers to find that Judge Lafontaine had actually degraded himself to the extent of receiving these same anarchists into his presence. The newspapers did not say whether the judge provided himself with a special bodyguard of expert bomb-catchers, or whether he showed any sign of enjoying the interview. But one thing is certain: he did not "take his hat and coat and leave the room", and he is not even reported to have said anything about Bolsheviks.

What, oh what happened in those few days that elapsed between the Board's despotic refusal to meet the teachers and the interview of Wednesday the 10th? Here is a mystery for some bright sleuth to sharpen his wits over.

Of course, the Judge was emphatic in giving the teachers to understand that they were being received merely as individuals and not as representatives of any organization whatsoever. They were told that the finances of the Board could not allow of increases in salary such as they asked. They were told that if they thought the school tax should be increased to meet the situation, they were perfectly free to go to the Legislature themselves and ask for it. And in regard to their organization, they were told by commissioner Geoffrion that as the law now stood, it would be impossible for the Board to enter into a collective contract with any number of teachers.

Incredible though it may seem, this is indeed the case. In a country where the right of all workers to organize and bargain collectively is recognized by Federal enactment, there is one Province where at least one class of worker is denied the only weapon that can possibly protect it from injustice. And this Province is the Province of Quebec, and the workers are the Catholic teachers within its confines.

If ever there was a crying, flagrant wrong, it is surely here. And be it said to the great credit of the Catholic Teachers Welfare Association, that they have already taken energetic measures to bring about the amendment of this law. Without waiting for the iron to cool, they have waited on Sir Lomer Gouin, urging strongly among other things, that the law be changed to allow of collective bargaining with the School Commission. The amendment, after brief consideration by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, was returned to the delegation, with the advice to refer it to the Private Bills Committee, in



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order that it may be brought before the House in the ordinary course of affairs. So it has now been confided to the care of these gentlemen who comprise that important sounding body known as the Private Bills Committee. Not only is its ultimate fate of paramount importance to the teaching profession of Montreal and Quebec generally, but to the great mass of the people from one end of the Dominion to the other.

According to the report given before a meeting of the Catholic Teachers Welfare Association, by Mr. Eudore Gobeil, president of the organization, the teachers delegation was received with every mark of courtesy by Sir Lomer Gouin and his colleagues in the Provincial Government. The conference lasted for over two hours, during which time the chief executive and his cabinet entered with great interest into a comprehensive study of every phase of the teaching situation in Montreal.

Great emphasis was laid by Mr. Gobeil on the necessity of giving to the women teachers employed by the Board an increase in salary equal to that demanded by the men. This is one of the strong points that has proved the Association to be founded on the broad lines of justice and equality for all. "For equal service, there must be equal remuneration", said Mr. Gobeil before Sir Lomer Gouin and the members of his Government. "The women teachers in our Association must be placed upon an equal footing with the men."

On this principle, according to Mr. Gobeil, the Government did not see eye to eye with the Association.

"Can these women teachers instruct their classes as well as a man might?" was one of the questions asked.

"Certainly", was the answer. Particular representations were

made by the delegation to the cabinet, asking that some means be found whereby the \$400 increase in salary asked might be granted before the New Year.

But in addition to the amendment calling for the inclusion of a collective bargaining clause in the School Law, there will be other amendments before the House this session which have in view the changing of teaching conditions in Montreal. A new association, founded by teachers who have remained outside of the Welfare Association, with the entire approval of the School Board, have also presented an amendment to a bill originated by the Board itself, and whose provisions have not been made public. This amendment asks that the school tax be increased by ten mills, five mills to be devoted to salary increases for the teachers, and five mills to be expended by the Board as it may deem expedient.

The Welfare Association has declared the new association, which is known as l'Alliance Catholique, to be a rival organization approved by the School Commissioners. Its purpose, according to the Welfare Association, is to split the increase in two, one half to go to the School Board for various administrative purposes other than payment of wages.

In order to prevent this, if possible, the Welfare Association has prepared a sub-amendment in which it is asked that all monies levied through an increase in the school tax be devoted entirely to increasing the salaries of the teachers employed by the Commissioners in Montreal.

From the brief exposé of the teaching situation here given, it will be seen how appalling are the conditions under which the teachers of Montreal are obliged to earn their bread. Discriminated against by the very law of the land, they are hemmed in on all sides by the stone walls of an officialdom that has grown overbearing through years of undisputed power. The forces against which the teachers are struggling for the right to live are deeply entrenched, and if we are to judge from the actions of Judge Lafontaine, will give way only when the crushing juggernaut of public opinion shows an inclination to ride rough-shod over them.

The urgent need for school reform has been brought home to the Catholics of Montreal, and the people generally, as it has never been brought home before. Their interests as well as those of the teachers are vitally at stake. Future generations are in the balance. And therefore greatly does it behove the people of Quebec, of all denominations, to apply the full force of public sentiment to the ponderous machinery of legislation at Quebec, in order that our legislators may see the light and bring about speedily a new era of justice for the teaching profession in Montreal.

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## Tom Moore States Case for Labor

Tells Ottawa Canadian Club that Workers are Determined on New Status.

A statement of labor's case ending with a note of warning was given by Tom Moore, president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, to the members of the Ottawa Canadian Club at the luncheon in the Chateau Laurier on December 21.

Labor, he said, wanted class distinctions eliminated and the industrial conditions which forced labor to be considered as a commodity or article of commerce removed.

Mr. Moore, dealt with the international declarations in the peace treaty and warned legislators that the workers could not be guaranteed to be tolerant and patient if they were not carried out. The workers were determined to obtain a new status, and if things that happened in Russia were to be avoided, they would expect laws enacted which would bring to them these conditions which they were determined to obtain.

The large audience included the Governor-General, several Cabinet ministers and many other prominent figures in Canadian politics. It is of interest to point out that Mr. Moore followed, as guests of the club, the Prince of Wales and Admiral Jellicoe.

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It is just a piece of pasteboard, but it means a lot to me;  
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And many times without my card I would have had no sleep or feed.

In form and style, in size and shape, it has changed in passing years. When used aright, it brings us joy — leave but little room for tears. 'Tis a pal that's good to travel with, as this wide world I roam; It has found a place to hang my hat — where that is, it is home.

When aweary, tired and footsore, with no place to lay my head, That little card, all free and clear, has provided me a bed; When loved ones I hold dear are sick and calling me to their side, With my union card as passport, I have reached them ere they died.

I have tramped this great, wide country from one end to the other; In the pocket with my union card was a picture of my mother. And when the last "take" I have set, and in dead-rack round, old pard, I think St. Peter will let me in, when I show my union card. —G. H. Hall, in Typographical Journal.

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## The Eight-Hour Day

THE Government of Canada is committed to the acceptance of the principle of the eight-hour day, as outlined in the Peace Treaty, signed on behalf of Canada by Sir Robert Borden.

Hon. Mr. Rowell, speaking on Nov. 24 in the name of the Canadian Government at the International Labor Conference at Washington, in support of the eight-hour convention, said that the Government would carry out the obligation it had assumed in the treaty, in spirit as well as in letter.

Morally, the eight-hour day is the law of Canada now.

It is no longer a matter of favor or concession for employers to introduce the eight-hour day. There is already a moral obligation upon them as good Canadian citizens to introduce it. They are violating their moral obligation to the State if they fail to introduce it.

So far as trades unions are concerned, the eight-hour day is not a subject for further controversy, except in the exceptional cases which prove the rule. It can be taken for granted that the eight-hour day is regarded as one of the clearest and most elementary rights of the workers, and that any attempt to dispute that proposition would be thrown out of court as a matter for serious discussion by any responsible tribunal in the country.

The eight-hour day is the granted right of Canadian workers to-day, if the signing of the Peace Treaty and the expressions of the Canadian Government mean anything at all.

K. C.

## A Free Country

(Contributed).

THE proclamation of a general amnesty for military prisoners, under which several hundred men who had been condemned by court martials or civil authorities for offences or omissions in relation to military law, have been released, is a step in the right direction. That step was urged in the House of Commons some months back, and had it been taken at that time, a better spirit in certain sections of this province would have prevailed. During the height of war fever and peril, people may well talk of the bounden duty of men to go overseas and fight a far-off foe, but the fact remains that many of those who disobeyed the call did so, not because they were lacking in patriotism to their own country, but because they were not convinced that duty to their country included the wider range. The next big fight that this continent has ahead of it is the fight for individual freedom, the denial of governments to jail citizens for deeds or abstentions that have nothing criminal in them. The decalogue laid down by Moses still contains the elements of real justice; "Thou shalt not kill: "thou shalt not steal" and so forth. When men committed such acts, they were infringing on society's rights, but it is a very different matter when it comes to society interpreting citizens' duty in a way which is not recognized by a considerable section of thinking people. One admission may be made, and that is that the United States, that republic which spires liberty from its pores, but denies it in its acts, is backward as compared with Canada. Great Britain is known as a free country and does not put up a monument in the Thames to remind people of it.

Britain has freed its conscientious prisoners, many of whom experienced tortures as cruel as those at the front: but the U. S. A. still remains these men, on some of whom were passed outrageous sentences such as twenty and thirty years. Not only that: but the citizens who dared to make a public protest the other day on behalf of these jailed citizens were themselves pounced upon the police. Petty magistrates and police threaten the liberties of the citizens on this continent, and it is time that people should throw out a challenge to this curtailment of freedom in speech and action: otherwise that statue outside New York harbor may as well be blindfolded.

## The Right to Strike

(ALEXANDER M. BING, in *The Survey*, New York.)

Recent utterances of employers and of men prominent in public life have given evidence of a strong desire to prevent the occurrence of strikes by force. The tendency culminated in the recent injunction in the coal strike and has also found expression in the arrest of strikers by the aid of resuscitated "work or fight" laws, and in some cases in arrests that did not have even so flimsy a pretext. If we are to restore industrial peace and good-will, there must come first of all a realization that force is not the proper weapon with which to combat industrial conflicts. The right of workers engaged in private employment to strike must be unqualified.

Second in importance is the complete restoration of freedom of speech and assembly, whether a strike is in progress or not. In fact, it is just at such times that the right is particularly needed, and

to which such a commission would expose the facts, there can be little doubt that these practices would become fewer, if they did not wholly disappear.

There should also be created a national commission for the mediation and arbitration of industrial disputes. The National War Labor Board did invaluable work during the war. It is true that, at the conclusion of hostilities, both labor and capital desired its abolition and furthermore that, with the disappearance of war psychology, it became more and more difficult to get either side to submit its case to the determination of that tribunal. If, however, the board had been continued, it would have been in a position to offer to both sides in the recent coal and steel strikes the services of a body of industrial experts who possessed unusual qualifications for exercise of mediatory or arbitral functions, and it would have been extremely difficult for either party to the controversy to reject these services. If such rejection had taken place, the board could still have held an inquiry into all the facts, and its report would have added value because both employer and employee were represented on the board and because of the ability and experience of its members.

The need of the hour is undoubtedly industrial peace and increased production. Neither of these will come, however, without a greater measure of justice than the present temper of our employers of officials seems willing to grant; nor will there be any permanent improvement until all classes in America become imbued with a desire for service. Somebody must commence—I would suggest that the employers, who are the most favorably situated, be the ones to do so.

## UNIONISM AND BOLSHEVISM

AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF LABOR OFFICIALS FROM 119 INTERNATIONAL UNIONS CALLED BY PRESIDENT SAMUEL GOMPERS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AS A RESULT OF THE FAILURE OF THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE CALLED BY PRESIDENT WILSON, DRAFTED A NEW "BILL OF RIGHTS" FOR ORGANIZED LABOR ON NOVEMBER 13 AT WASHINGTON. RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED CALLING ON THE UNIONS TO RID THEIR ORGANIZATIONS OF ALL MEMBERS WITH I. W. W. OR BOLSHEVIST LEANINGS. LABOR'S BELIEF IN THE PRINCIPLES OF VOLUNTARY ARBITRATION AND OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WERE REAFFIRMED AND THE OPPOSITION OF THE UNIONS TO THE USE OF THE INJUNCTION AS AN ANTI-STRIKE WEAPON WAS AGAIN EXPRESSED.

(From *The Survey*, New York.)

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#### AMERICAN TRAINMEN AND THE CANADIAN CONFERENCE

The National Industrial Conference of Canada left a better record of achievement than the one called by the President of the United States at Washington, which went on the rocks over the question of collective bargaining. During the four days' sessions at Ottawa, the main questions discussed related to this method of arranging service conditions, and both employers and employees agreed on collective bargaining and fairly well on other questions involved in the understanding. There was no agreement wholly acceptable to both parties, but in the main they did not disagree to the point of falling out, which is more than can be said of the Washington meeting.

(From *The Railroad Trainman*.)

#### WOMEN AND WAGES

"The war gave a great impetus to the advance of women into new fields of industry and there was great talk of the phenomenally high wages they were said to be receiving, but investigation into the situation showed that these high wages were the exceptional, not the usual thing," said Miss Agnes de Lima of the National Consumers League, which organization has been for some time investigating wages and living conditions of women in industry. "We looked carefully into these much-talked-of high wages in Rhode Island, in Philadelphia, Wilmington, and in a few places in New Jersey", continued Miss de Lima, in an interview with a representative of the "Christian Science Monitor", and we found, as I said, that high wages were the exception and the wages in general were not only much less than was imagined, but even below the subsistence level.

"In Philadelphia we found thous-

ands of girls making army cloth in government plants at wages around the level of \$8, \$9 and \$10 weekly. In Delaware, which was a great war production centre, we found many girls working for far less than a living wage, and, upon the signing of the armistice, even these low wages dropped still lower.

#### Average Earnings.

"The only fair way to measure women's wages, is to average the earnings during the 52 weeks of the year, counting in the slack season and all. We took the average earnings of 88 girls in Wilmington, Delaware, and made them the basis of a minimum wage campaign, which failed, owing to the opposition of certain manufacturers.

"There is not much question but that women will stay in their new-found jobs, not because they have made good, but because their labor is cheaper than that of men. A recent investigation in New York showed that women engaged in doing the same work as men, and often, according to the employers' testimony, exceeding the production of men, were paid from two-thirds to three-fourths the wages men were receiving. Women take less money because they are not organized and have not been in industry long enough to learn to fight for their rights; they are easily exploited. There are always unscrupulous employers who seek to import labor and underbid others.

#### Equal Pay for Equal Work.

"As women become more industrially self-conscious they will insist that wages be paid according to the job. It has certainly been a great step forward to have the federal government commit itself to the policy of equal pay for equal work.

"The best thing about minimum wage legislation, which we now have in 14 states and which is compulsory in all but two of them, is that it brings the three parties, the employers, the girls and the public, together in an industrial parliament. The minimum wage, however, exists largely for the unskilled worker, assuring her of less than is paid a skilled worker, but more than that worker could get if left to herself.

"Prices are still nearly up to the war level and do not show signs of coming down. Car fares are going up in many places, shoes are very expensive, like everything else, and a \$9 or \$10-wage does not go so far now as a \$6-wage did in the old days. In some cases we have found an improvement on the wage scale prevailing before 1914, but it has not been proportionate to the cost of living.

"I feel very strongly that in this reconstruction period while prices are still away up, wages ought not to be allowed to go down. Also that we must keep up our agitation for wages based on work, not on sex, and wages must be considered in the light of the cost of living."

(From *Christian Science Monitor*.)

## The Failure of Parliamentarism and Its Remedies

HERE have been many alarms and excursions about the threats of "direct action" which have been freely uttered in certain quarters, but, as usual, such persons as discussed them have been content to cry "Bolshevist propaganda" and have failed to allude to what is the real root of the matter — the failure of the Parliamentary system and its causes. Of course any Parliament which like ours could convene itself for the purpose of exacting a double subsidy from the public purse instead of taking the bold and proper course of presenting its claims for increased indemnities as a matter of national decency and proceeded to drag out weary weeks in boring idleness with nothing better to do than hear Messrs. Mackenzie and Meighen indulge in a fishwives' quarrel about incidents two years old and the egregious Mr. Macdonald Mowat air his favorite nostrums for the salvation of society via private bills, can expect for itself nothing but discredit and contempt.

But this discredit of Parliament is not peculiar either to Canada or England; it has been even more notorious in France, where it is deep-seated and of old standing, and is to be found in greater or less degree in every Parliamentary country. The politicians rarely see ahead of their noses, usually because they do not want to, but to others who have eyes to see it is obvious that the parliamentary system in its existing form is doomed or can be saved only by drastic changes.

The Allies have lately been trying to force their own Parliamentary system on other countries, as if it was the last word in democracy. "Representative government was not democratic in its origin nor did its devisers intend to be so; in British countries and France the various extensions of the franchise made it gradually more democratic, but even today it signally fails to fulfill the true ideals of democracy.

We have been so often told by our tubthumpers and spellbinders that we enjoy the truest form of democracy that we have almost come to believe it. There is a wide gulf between Parliamentary government as we know it and true democracy. The American system is not even Parliamentary; it is in point of fact an elective autocracy and the President of the United States of America enjoys more real power than the Kaiser or Czar ever had, though his enjoyment of it is limited to four years unless he is re-elected. But the American administration is not responsible to Parliament and remains in office even though both Houses of Congress contain majorities hostile to its policies.

The President of the French Republic is a constitutional monarch elected for seven years. He has not the arbitrary power of the occupant of the White House for all his acts have to be countersigned by a minister, but he has infinitely more power than the King of England.

Rousseau, the French philosopher, after an examination of British political institutions, declared that those who lived under them were free once every seven years and the rest of the time were slaves. The life of parliament is now shortened, but the truth of the saying remains. We are now free once every four or five years — there is no other difference — and our freedom only consists in the right to vote for one of the two or three gentlemen, more or less agreeable, occasionally intelligent, sometimes incapable and always stupidly partisan, whom some caucus of party workers has nominated. There begins and ends the part of the Canadian elector in the government of his country.

Under existing conditions a general election is bound to be a farce from the point of view of the mass of the people — elections cost large sums of money and as long as they

do the rich possessory classes are bound to control the result.

Very rarely does a straight issue confront the electorate and the result is often less an index of the true feeling of the country than a testimony to the skill of the party heelers and the experts in the meaner acts of electioneering who adorn every Cabinet.

In the long intervals between elections our Ministers and most of our members assume what Walt Whitman aptly termed "the never-ending audacity of elected persons," and their constituents have not the slightest hold over them. The party whips have ample control by the threats of an election. The Executive has come more and more to encroach upon the powers of Parliament and to escape from its supervision, members have become mere automatons for registering the decrees of the Cabinet, and cannot, save in the case of bold spirits like Mr. W. F. Nickle, whose loss to the Ottawa house is very serious, call their souls their own. Dumb driven cattle is the only description that can be applied to the rank and file of a Canadian party.

The Parliamentary system stands discredited because it is not democratic and the workers are beginning to take this view firmly and boldly in every Parliamentary country. The percentage of electors who poll at elections is notoriously decreasing. At the election in Britain in 1918 less than 50 per cent of the

electors voted and the vote at by-elections since has been even smaller. It is waste of breath to abuse direct action without proposing some remedy for the parliamentary system. If the champions of the latter desire to save it they must indulge in advocacy of radical reforms in its structure and insist upon making it sincerely and effectively democratic.

Let us now consider the nature of necessary and possible reform. In the first place the Senate of Canada should be totally abolished. It is the most, useless, incongruous and ridiculous legislative body in the world. The proportion of talented members is deplorably few and for generations it has served as a political workhouse for both parties or a citadel from which wealthy champions of vested interests, unembarrassed by the necessity of facing troublesome electors, may protect their profitable preserves. There is neither rhyme nor reason in our senate.

The British House of Lords contains many able and courageous men and their independent action and criticism has been very useful to the nation since 1914. But everybody practically is agreed that the retention of the hereditary system is indefensible and its abolition is imminent.

Both the French and American Senate are strong fortresses of the entrenched interests of property. The reason for this is that they are elected nominally on a popular basis.

There have been many schemes for reforming our Senate, but they should be disregarded. If the Senate were given a representative character, it would become much more powerful and proceed to assert itself in all directions and to quarrel freely with the Commons. If the system of electing the Commons and the machinery of Cabinet government were made responsible to the popular will, one chamber is enough for any country. If it is not responsive to it, one chamber is more than enough.

Secondly the duration of Parliaments should be reduced. The expense and confusion of general elections make annual parliaments undesirable, but three years should be their maximum duration.

Thirdly, the power of dissolving Parliament should be abolished. Many member like their indemnities and dislike elections. Accordingly the Cabinet, by threatening its followers with an election, is able to stifle independence on its own side. The power of dissolution puts a dangerous weapon into the hands of the Executive.

Fourthly, only absolutely necessary election expenses should be allowed and for these the public funds should be responsible. All other expenditure should be subject to heavy penalties. If this sounds Utopian, then publicity for all contributions to campaign funds should be rigorously enforced by law. Such a measure is part of the Graingrowers' programme and its omission by

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the Liberals at their recent deliberations over a platform is a grave error.

Fifthly, the existing system of Cabinet Government should be abolished and in its place there should be set up an Administration directly elected, as in Switzerland, by the House of Commons, to which Ministers will be individually and severally responsible. There would be an end of the old idea that Ministerial solidarity was necessary for the nation's salvation and that one Minister's dismissal by the Commons, which should always be possible, would entail the resignation of his colleagues. Questions of general policy would be decided by the majority of the Executive, who will have free right of difference; the minority may, if they choose discard in all responsibility for the policy of the majority and vote against it in the House.

Most important of all, the Executive should issue a full and accurate report of its meetings in which every question discussed and every decision reached should be mentioned together with the numbers and names of members voting for and against a decision.

In short, the atmosphere of confidence and mystery now enshrouding Cabinet meetings should be swept away. It would be urged that such a fundamental change would make diplomacy and many highly-complicated negotiations impossible. But the plain people have usually in the past suffered from the fruits of secret diplomacy and complicated negotiations so much that their abolition would be a blessing. It has been the view of some Parliamentary reformers that no member of Parliament should be eligible for election to the Executive and there is something to be said for the proposal. In any case, members of Parliament on joining the Executive should vacate their seats and be re-elected. If Ministers were not members of Parliament they should have the right to appear before and address it.

Sixthly, the system of proportional representation should be adopted for elections. The arguments in its favor are too well known now to need repetition. It has now secured the endorsement of the Great War Veteran's Association, the Canadian Council of Agriculture, the National Industrial Conference, and the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association and other important bodies.

But there is further reform which is urged in many quarters. It is suggested that representation by occupations be substituted for representation by areas and there is much to be said for the idea. Under this system all the electors would be grouped according to their trade or profession; (employers and employed would be in the same group). There would be groups of farmers, industrialists of various kinds, fishermen, etc., and some for persons who came within no definite category. As it would be impossible for each group to vote all over the country for one

member, the Dominion would have to be divided into large electoral areas; save in Ontario and Quebec each province could be an electoral division. Each group would have the proportion of representatives to which its numbers entitled it and voting would be proportional representation with the transferable vote. But this far-reaching change presents many difficulties in a country of vast distances and scattered population like Canada, where dividing racial complications are also present. It may, however, easily be introduced in the near future in more crowded countries but for the present Canadians might be content with the advent of proportional representation.

Seventhly, members of Parliament should become the delegates, not the representatives, of their constituents. The representative idea presumed that the electors would choose invariably a man of high talent, strong character and independent

judgment as their member, and if this ideal had been carried, the representative system would be admirable. But it has remained an ideal and few Canadian members answer to the above description. Therefore some means of controlling their performances and gyrations must be devised.

It might be possible to give specific mandates at a general election on certain subjects. The Grain-growers of the West are already adopting this policy in regard to the New National Policy, the platform of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and demanding pledges of absolute support to its various items from all candidates who seek their votes. The referendum is one method of control, but it would be preferable to give the electors power to withdraw a mandate of delegate after a specified interval. There might be a proviso that a certain proportion of the electors could demand a poll on the question whether the member's mandate should be continued.

Edmund Burke in one of his speeches made a historic defence of the representative principle and recoiled in horror from the theory of the mandate. But he lived in an age when the number of educated people was limited and the great majority were absolutely incapable of forming any judgment upon public questions for themselves. With the spread of education and the dissemination of knowledge and information through the medium of the press, the arguments for the representative theory have less force. In a country like Canada where the average member is endowed with no higher powers of intellect or judgment than half the electorate he represents, the mandatory system would probably yield better results.

Such are a few suggestions which may be extended to the consider-

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ation of all who are believers in the efficacy of the Parliamentary systems of government and zealous for its maintenance. It is not pretended that their adoption will bring about any millennium or even secure complete democratic control. If we want to secure complete democracy, there must be a change of heart and a different attitude to public affairs on the part of the whole community. We must realize that politics and good government are part of the business of every citizen and deserve as much attention and time as sport and amusement.

Dr. Charles Eliot Norton, the American friend of Carlyle, declared that democracy would be a fine system to live under a thousand years hence. Even today it is still in the nature of an experiment, and its results have in many respects been disappointing. But it contains more hope for the future of civilization than any other form of government and the process of perfecting its instruments and machinery must be ceaselessly carried on by the plain people of whose aspirations it seeks to afford an avenue of realization.

J. A. S.

:o:  
LABOR CONFERENCE  
AND THE PRESS

The first International Labor Conference, held in Washington during the past month, has been strangely ignored by the American press. Yet it began the work of making worldwide the liberal labor laws of the more advanced states. It took steps to allay those fears of trade competition from countries with lower standards which have always hampered progressive legislation. As a direct result of its efforts the International Labor Office will soon begin to function under the League of Nations as a world clearing-house of labor information, and as a further result the authorities of forty nations in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas are going to consider six draft conventions and nine recommendations on fundamental social subjects. It seems a good deal to ignore.

(From the *New Republic*.)

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## Classes in Britain Must Co-operate

**Lord Cecil Robert, Though Not Prepared to Acquit Them of Self-Seeking, Says Workmen Should Be Treated as Partners.**

(From the *Christian Science Monitor*)

London, England.—“If Europe is to be set upon its legs again, as we all necessarily and devoutly hope it will,” said Lord Robert Cecil, speaking at a dinner of the United Club at the Trocadero Restaurant recently, “it cannot be done if all the nations of the world pursue their own immediate interests and nothing else. National selfishness, I am convinced, is the greatest obstacle to European peace.”

He did not agree with the chairman (Sir Park Goff), that they had made peace too early. The condition of Europe at the present time was so serious that he was rather inclined to think that a few more weeks of war would have made recovery impossible. He did not know that he regarded recovery as an absolute certainty even now, but he was quite sure of this—that they had approached a very near margin of safety.

### Sole Cause of Labor Troubles.

If national selfishness was the great danger abroad, he continued, he thought class selfishness was the great danger at home. He did not say that class selfishness was the sole cause of the industrial difficulties in which they found themselves. In his judgment by far the most potent immediate cause of unrest was high prices. He had not a pocket remedy for high prices. He did not believe in the popular view that it was all profiteering. High prices were a world phenomenon and to ask him to believe that there was a general conspiracy to profiteer on the part of suppliers of all the essential commodities was to ask him to believe something which seemed to him incredible.

He did not believe that high prices, for the main part, were caused by profiteering. He believed himself that the cause was an economic one, that it was partly due to want of output, restriction of supply, and partly to that very difficult and, he admitted, rather unintelligible subject, the expansion of the currency. Whatever the cause, undoubtedly high prices were a very serious element in the industrial situation. He did not think, however, it was more than a passing element. Sooner or later prices would adjust themselves.

### Faults on Both Sides.

Continuing, Lord Robert said the root cause, in his judgment, of the industrial difficulties in Great Britain, was class selfishness. It was not only one class; he thought there were faults on both sides. Certainly he was not prepared to acquit the wage-earners of class selfishness. He did not wish to underrate the services they had rendered the country in the war. They had done their bit, like every other class of the community, but they had not done any more. But there was

this difference—that they laid it down as a fundamental that they should not suffer by any changes in the economic situation brought about by the war. He was not prepared to say that the wage-earners were the only people guilty of class selfishness. With many exceptions the employers were guilty of class selfishness as well. He did not feel that they fully recognized and admitted that the nation had arrived at a period in its industrial history when it must be prepared for very great changes in the industrial organization.

He thought they had got to recognize that the workman, apart from his wages and conditions of labor, had a very direct interest in the management of the concern in which he worked. The workman was not a mere machine, and they could not treat him as such. In point of fact, his interest in the prosperity of the undertaking was as great as that of the employer. The workman was doubly interested and he thought that must be recognized.

### Workmen Should Share in Profits

Workmen, Lord Robert maintained, should be treated as partners. They had, in the first place, to make the machinery for adjusting the conditions of work, wages, hours, and things of that kind. They would have to have committees on which the employers and the workers were equally represented to discuss and consider all such conditions. In addition to that, they would have to give the representatives of the wage-earners some voice in the general management of the concern. Personally he went further: he thought they must give them also a share in the profits of the concern. He believed that was the only real way to settle the demands for the rises in wages.

They must set before themselves the ideal of partnership, which seemed to him to be the sound ideal, and he believed that in that way they would not only greatly increase the content of the workmen, but they would implant in them the sense of the responsibility for the success of the undertaking, and they would have an entirely different sentiment in industry. He was not certain that partnership would mean the solution of industrial troubles, but he went so far as to say that if that were not the solution, then he did not see that there was any solution in sight.

### TECHNICAL UNION GETS BIG SEND-OFF

At the Aryan Grotto Temple, Chicago, last week, an audience that packed the big auditorium, listened with enthusiasm to M. J. Browne, president of Local No. 14, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen, and Anthony J. Oliver, international president, as they explained how necessary it is that skilled professional men join hands in the great labor movement represented by the American Federation of Labor to better their conditions.

Scores of applications for membership were received following the meeting.

## The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada

### Its Only Aim Is The Welfare of The Masses.

The people of a nation cannot advance beyond the men who make its laws, and the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada exists to see to it that the workers by hand and brain are directly represented in the law-making bodies of the Dominion; to find, train and elect the right men of our own class in order to secure the kind of legislation that will protect and advance the interests of the workers.

It will wage warfare on plutocracy, despotism, economic privileges, and upon all the evil forces which burden the people and rob them of that happiness of living which is their fundamental right.

It is a non-partisan educational and political association, and because of the manner in which it is organized can never become the instrument or plaything of a small group of any class, particularly of wealthy men. The aim is the attainment of true democracy.

### WE PLEDGE OURSELVES:

To support all municipal, provincial and federal educational plans where the evident purpose is to raise the standard of education in enlightened and progressive ways; to present truthfully and fearlessly through the medium of Fifth Sunday Meetings and our own press, the “Canadian Railroader”, the latest and most important political, social and industrial developments;

To advocate the abolition of property qualifications for the franchise or for election to public office; the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and of proportional representation in all forms of public government; universal suffrage for both sexes, on the basis of one person, one vote; the transfer of taxes from improvements, and all products of labor, to land values, incomes and inheritances;

To advocate prison reform, including introduction of the honor and segregation systems, and abolition of contract labor; the enactment and rigid enforcement of child labor laws; pensions for mothers with dependent children; regulation of immigration to prevent lowering of industrial, political or social standards; development of the postal savings and parcel post systems; financial and other assistance to farmers through co-operative banks and by other means; government development of co-operative producing and trading associations for the benefit of the consumer;

To advocate extension of workmen’s housing schemes and the labor bureau system; provision of technical education for every willing worker, according to his capacities; more effective inspection of buildings, factories, workshops and mines; minimum wages; a rest period of not less than a day and a half per week for every worker; government insurance of workers against sickness, injury and death; maternity benefits and old-age pensions; better Workmen’s Compensation Acts; representation of the workers on all public boards and on boards for the supervision of private enterprises; union labor conditions in all government work; adequate pensions and opportunities for soldiers and their dependents;

To advocate freedom of speech and of the press, and a law compelling all newspapers and periodicals to publish in all issues a complete list of shareholders and bondholders.

“The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada” is financed entirely by its members who contribute \$2 a year in membership fees. If a local has been established in your city \$1 remains in the local treasury and the other dollar is sent by the local organization to our Dominion Headquarters, 60 Dandurand Building, Montreal, Que. In case no local has been established in your community, send the membership fee of \$2 directly to Dominion Headquarters.

The funds accumulating in the Dominion Headquarters are used for political and educational propaganda; the development of the organization; the preparation of pamphlets and leaflets and the financing of the various political campaigns where favorable opportunities develop, to elect our candidates. The treasurer is under bond and the books are audited by a firm of accountants.

An application blank will be found below. Merely fill out the application blank, buy a postal order for \$2 and send it to Dominion Headquarters. Your membership card will be forwarded by return mail. Join this great organization in the interests of education and clean politics. Today is the day and this is the hour. Become a member now.

### APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

To the Secretary,

The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada,  
General Headquarters, 60 Dandurand Building,  
MONTREAL, QUE.

I hereby make application for membership in “The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada.” I subscribe and agree to pay, while a member, the yearly fee of \$2.00 in advance.

Name.....

Amount paid \$..... Address.....

Date..... City.....

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Make all cheques and money orders payable to “The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada.”

Official membership card will be mailed from Headquarters, with copy of platform, constitution and general rules.

## Peter Wright is Mayor of Newport

Councillor Peter Wright, of the Seamen's Union of Great Britain, who was a speaker at one of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association meetings in Montreal, has been elected Mayor of Newport, Mons.

"The Seaman", official organ of the unionized seamen, in a recent issue says:—

"Councillor Peter Wright, who on Monday, November 10th, was chosen Mayor of Newport for the succeeding year, was born on October 6th, 1867, at Grangemouth, on the Firth of Forth. He came to Newport in 1899 as a contractor in connection with shipping, and shortly afterwards became a member of the old School Board, of which he was at one time vice-chairman. He remained on the board until the old order of things was changed, and he has since continued his services to education in the Newport Education Committee, of which he is now deputy-chairman. He became a member of the Newport Town Council as representative for the Alexandra Ward in 1905. He is a representative of the Court of Governors of the Welsh University, a representative on the Central Welsh Board, a chairman of the Newport Schools Canteen Committee, and a member of many of the committees of the Newport Town Council, including the watch, works and general purposes, health, electricity, tramways, housing and distress committees.

His life has been a varied and interesting one. He entered upon a seafaring life when only about eleven years of age, and continued it from about 1897 to 1891, when he was third mate. In 1891 he commenced work as a landsman at the Mount Stuart Dry Dock, Cardiff, and removed to Newport in 1899 as stated.

Mr. Wright has always taken an active interest in all work for the uplifting of the masses. He has acted as missioner to seamen, and has done much for the betterment of their conditions. He did excellent services during the war in obtaining recruits for the Army, in the War Loan campaign, and in many directions has won unstinted meed of praise not only from those in authority, but from the community at large.

He is an athlete of renown, and of his earnings in this respect has given some £7,000 to charities. As a member of the Watch Committee he took an active interest in the police, and has acted as hon. instructor to the constables, both of the borough and the county. He established a physical culture class for newsboys with a view of preparing them for the Army and Navy.

He started wrestling in 1880, having learned the art from his father, and since then he has met many of the greatest opponents of the art in the world, and with considerable success. He has also many other athletic accomplishments. In 1882 he won the one-mile swimming championship in the Firth of Forth, and the local championship there for throwing the

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hammer. In 1889 he won the five miles championship of Calcutta, the 120 yards hurdles, and the long jump.

Mr. Wright is a striking personality, both mentally and physically, is an excellent orator, and has a gift of influencing large audiences. Of his work in Newport on the Town Council and to the Newport Education Committee, as well as in many other ways, little need be said except that he has always been on the side of progress.

The following is a copy of a Resolution adopted unanimously at a Special Meeting of the Newport Branch:

"That this meeting of Members of the Newport Branch of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union held at the Union Offices, 28, Rupe Street, Newport, Mons., on November 11th, 1919, send hearty congratulations to our fellow Member, and Executive Councillor of this Union (Mr. Peter Wright) on his election as Mayor of the County Borough of Newport, and wish him Good Health, Good Luck, and God Speed in his year of office."

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preface will give a good idea of the spirit of the book:

"The quoting of statistics, dates or opinions is unnecessary when the truth sought to be made clear is that the practice attacked is entirely wrong. For example, burglary is wrong regardless of the amount of booty secured. The common observations of the average man have taught him the importance of the subject of inheritance to his own welfare. He need not know the exact value of Vincent Astor's inherited fortune. He merely needs to know that, whether it is one hundred million or eight hundred million, it was unearned by Vincent Astor. He does not need to know the exact number of children in South Carolina who are working in sweatshops, nor the exact number dead of tuberculosis in New York City, nor the official count of unemployed men in Pennsylvania. All these items are of interest and value to some people, but I have not stopped to present them because I have had something more vital on hand than the counting of the wounded or the numbering of the dead; and I am willing to risk the carping and faultfinding of those small souls who refuse to shoot a coyote until they have ascertained how many sheep it has killed and whether or not it has been led by precedent to believe it has the right to kill sheep."

"After one becomes convinced of the right or wrong of any proposed reform, his interest in its progress becomes quite a different thing from the quibblings of those reactionaries who attempt to throw statistics, dates and precedents as stumbling blocks in the path of the honest investigator. For the benefit and instruction of those who are interested, I have endeavored, through foot-notes, to refer the student to the chief sources of legal and statistical information; but as the argument against the principle of inheritance is fundamental, and based upon natural rights, my endeavor has been to keep the text itself simple, plain and directly argumentative, appealing solely to those who have the courage to think for themselves, freed from the awe of precedent and unhindered by the thought of those political sanctities claimed now, as they have always been, by the beneficiaries of governmental privilege."

The book contains a valuable bibliography and is dedicated "To my wife and to our children, John and Katherine; and to all children of all parents everywhere, for whom the future holds the glorious hope of equal opportunity at the cradle."

Some of the chapters are:

Inheritance examined from the standpoint of human rights.

Inheritance examined from the standpoint of economic results.

Inheritance examined from the standpoint of modern ideals of social justice.

Inheritance and sentiment.

The claim of expediency.

The remedy.

The following quotation from the

## MOTHERS' PENSIONS

Rose Henderson.

In September, 1632, Galileo, compelled under threat of torture to recant his heretical assertion that the earth moves around the sun, turned from the chamber of Inquisition muttering, "But nevertheless it does move!"

Seven years ago I remember going to a prominent woman in this city who was then president of a large organization of women and asking, begging of her to bring the question of "mothers' pensions" before her organization or allow me to do so. Her reply was: "My dear, you know it would be folly; it's a Utopian scheme. Perhaps fifty years hence you, if alive, may see some poor soul struggling with it, but now it is out of the question". Not daunted, however, by many like refusals, a few months later an opportunity presented itself for me to give an address on mothers' pensions before the Guelph Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. This body of men assembled realized it was no "Utopian Idea," endorsed the proposition by a standing vote and appointed a committee there and then to take up the matter with the Government, with the result that through their education and appeal to various organizations there is not a city or town of any size in the Dominion which is not interested and where a group of earnest men and women may not be found working for this great humanitarian reform.

More than this, inside of seven years it has become law in three provinces and two more (Ontario and British Columbia) have appointed Commissions to gather data and prepare a bill to be introduced immediately. Clearly then, it will be seen in spite of everything and everyone the world, as Galileo said, "does move."

I have recently returned from St. John, N.B., where I addressed a convention of women delegates from the three provinces on mothers' pensions. Enthusiasm ran high and these women pledged themselves and their newly-acquired power, the ballot, to the bringing in of the pensions.

### The Need.

Since the establishment of Juvenile Courts the need for mothers' pensions has been more and more emphasized. A large proportion of the children coming before the Juvenile Courts are the Children of widows or deserted mothers, and 50% of those committed to institutions have but one parent. The reason for this condition of things is easy to understand. If the bread winner is removed through death or accident the family cannot live on either charity or air. The mother is driven from her home and earns a bare subsistence for her children. The oldest boy or girl must remain home

must necessarily grow up in ignorance, untrained and undisciplined, and sooner or later appear before the Juvenile Court.

It is not alone the oldest child of the family who suffers. As he or she is removed another must take the place. Thus the responsibility is thrust on young and immature shoulders of a burden often too much for an adult. Added to this is lack of sufficient, food, rest, play, education and discipline. Thus the entire family is slowly but surely being made paupers, and criminals, through lack of horse sense on the part of the community and our governments.

### Economic Aspects of Saving.

It has been my effort to show to every class that civilization for uncounted generations has been wasting one of the most valuable of natural resources, the free, voluntary and invaluable labor of mothers, to care for the younger children and breaking it down by many foolish practices and substituting institutional life at twice the cost and using the services of other women less efficient and never animated by that tremendous urge of which only mother-love can be the motive power.

Here in this Dominion even

though the war has brought home to us the worth of the babe, it seems not to have emphasized that of the mother to the babe. Daily thousands of mothers are driven out into the homes and offices of others to clean and make them habitable, it never apparently dawning on the community that a mother cannot serve two masters; that while out of her home doing the work of others she is forced to neglect her own and children. We give to these unfortunate women work of the heaviest and dirtiest nature to do, with the result that their health soon gives out, and, when beaten to the wall, we offer only the institution for their children, while the hospital, insane asylum or the brothel oftentimes is the only refuge for the mother.

My claim is that no mother should be deprived of her children for reasons of poverty alone. The state should recognize its duty towards the widowed mother of the industrial soldier as it does now towards the military soldier. If the state has the right to tax all poverty to pay for war and give free education to its children, it has an equal right to tax all property in order to be sure that the children it educates are fed and reared with an intelligence sufficient so that they may get the best out of the education. If billions can be found for destruction, surely a few millions annually can be found for construction. It is as foolish to refuse to pay mothers'

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pensions as was the refusal to give free education. And strange to relate, the arguments used against mothers' pensions have a near likeness to those used against free and compulsory education.

The actual cost to the state for its children is twice that of caring for the child in its own home, and the results are bad. It costs in even the poorest and cheapest institution from \$15 to \$25. monthly to support and care for a child. Recently I made an investigation into one such place. The report showed a deficit \$197.03 on the maintenance of nine old women, forty-seven boys and forty-two girls. There was also sent to this institution hundreds of dollars worth of supplies of all kinds, toys, clothing, provisions, etc., which I am not including in a calculation. Counting interest on the money invested in this institution the keep per annum for eighty-nine children and nine old women reached to almost \$19,000 of which only \$7,216.43 went to the support of the ninety-eight inmates. Is this not a criminally-cruel and wasteful method of protecting not only our children but also our old people?

The cost in other institutions is greater. In fact the institution everywhere is a costly affair, not only from the economic consideration, but from the loss of the human material as well. All thinking people agree that institutional life for young children is wrong. It is handicapped on every turn. If we are to build a great nation of men and women we must see to it that good mothers are helped in their own homes to care for their children or provide the next best thing, the foster home as a substitute. The injustice to the child can never be estimated. Thousands of fatherless children are annually sent out into the world unfitted both in body and mind to earn a living. These untrained, unskilled, half-educated, often half-nourished, children soon become the prey of older and more worldly companions untrained in business or the ways of city-life. They prove to be plastic material for those chance acquaintances, often of the most undesirable character, and before long they are brought up in juvenile courts. This is often but the initial step to the jail and penitentiary.

The education of the institutional child is neither thorough or complete. If the child is sent out to work not fitted for anything in particular, thrust out at an early age amongst strangers without the restraining influences of parents home or relatives, it soon falls a prey to the social environment which it has

## More Deadly Than War

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not strength enough to resist. Having eaten, slept, marched, washed, prayed and moved by bell and rule for so many years it is little than a machine, and this accounts in a large measure for the prevalent idea amongst so many people that institutional children are of inferior clay, both morally and mentally, when in reality it is only their mind, initiative and self-reliance which have been warped by institutional life.

There is a freedom about home, school and the community which is absolutely necessary to the development of child-life. Through this environment the child must evolve in order to try out and strengthen his character and overcome weaknesses and meanliness he can only discover in freedom to fight play and help other children.

This valuable and necessary part of his education he is deprived of if shut up in an institution. He is deprived of initiative, deprived of the joy of competitive games of skill, and daring on the play ground, deprived of the training of being an active member of a group learning leadership and subordination, learning principal Honor, and self-effacement; deprived of association with the ruffed and weak characters which forms the most coveted hours of a child's life.

Children need even more than all else alone, a mother's love. It is not possible for a matron or her assistant to generate mother love or give individual care in a case of some physical or characteristic weakness. They are not there to perform that necessary service nor could they if they would. Their duty is to run the institution as cheaply and with as Spartan-like discipline as possible. Institutions are scarcely ever over burdened with anything save a surplus of months to feed. If there is any cutting down of expenses it is usually the children who have to suffer; it is either the food or the service which must be economized in.

The destruction of human life has been so great these past few years that all the thought of the world which is not absorbed with the actual work of destruction has turned toward the protection of the young. The question of the mothers of the race is the greatest of questions. Yet there is less legislation on our statute books for the mother and her offspring than there is for the protection of the live stock of Canada. There is no treasure but life, no wealth but life, no hope but life.

If the human race is to rise above their present thirst for blood and gold, if love is to triumph over hate and brute force, if the brotherhood of man is to become a reality we must surround the child with purity love and high ideals. This can only be done by protecting and building up home-life, and there is no home-life where the mother is absent. Mothers' Pensions are a step towards this end. A saving both of money and the precious asset of child and mother-life.

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200 King Street West - HAMILTON Can.

## Teachers Need More Liberty

Principal the Rev. Bruce Taylor, of Queen's University, Kingston, when speaking before the Canadian Club in Hamilton on "Canadian Citizenship", said he thought Canadians were not fully alive to their wonderful opportunities. In this country the only evidence of success was wealth, which after all, was not very much of a test of ability. Canada was too prosperous to pay much attention to the idealistic. He pointed to organization as "another evil of Canadian citizenship", many people believing that education consisted solely of putting a number of facts and figures in child's head. What was needed was more liberty for the teachers. Why should a schoolmaster put all the pupils through the same mill, using the same books? Under the new government and new Minister of Education he hoped "we would get away from the present materialistic and autocratic system, and get something with more liberty and more courage."

### THE LAW PROTECTED

"The prisoner is discharged."

"What's that, Judge?"

"You are discharged, I say."

"But, judge, I pleaded guilty."

"I can't help that. Go on away."

"I pleaded guilty, your honor, and guilty I was, and I think I ought to go to jail."

"Will you keep still? The court is done with your case."

"The indictment charged me with using poisonous flavors in soda water, judge, and I certainly did. Now I want to pay the penalty."

"Once for all, my man, I order you to quit bothering the court. You were charged with adulterating soda water. The evidence showed that you labeled your bottles 'soda water'. That lets you out. There is no law against putting impurities in soda water. The law refers only to soda water, sir—s-o-d-a, soda."

"I had no intention of evading the law, judge. I spelt it s-o-d-y through ignorance. Can't you send me up for a month or so?"

"No, sir, not for a minute. The law is the law, and I am here to defend it from violation. Officer, throw this persistent person into the street."—Newark News.

### HIGH COST OF BOLSHEVISM

One of the latest evidences of the far reaching consequences of the well known high cost of living, comes from a strange source. The I. W. W. has lately doubled its membership dues. In an elaborate argument the rise in commodity prices is discussed with an almost bourgeois solicitude. In this respect at least the H. C. L. seems to make the whole world akin!



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